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divided (according to their own account) into those anciently known and those adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians.

Aboriginally known:

Maize, põhỵ' (*Zea mays*)
Sweet potato, yąt (*Batatas edulis*)
Yam, krõrõ' (*Dioscorea sp.*)
Manioc, kwųr (*Manihot utilissima*)
Sweet manioc, kwųr-kahą'k (*Manihot aipi*)
Horse bean, pąakrịt' (*Phaseolus sp.*)
Arrowroot, kurúare (*Maranta sp.*)
Gourd, kõkóakahą'k (*Cucurbita sp.*)
Ground nut, kahą' (*Arachis sp.*)
[European name lacking], kupá (*Cissus sp.*)
Cotton, kaẽą't (*Gossypium sp.*)
Bottle gourd, kõkón (*Lagenaria sp.*)
Cuyeté, kõ'tõõ (*Crescentia sp.*)
Cuya de rama, —— (*Cucurbita sp.*)
Urucú, pų (*Bixa orellana*)

Adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians:

Rice	Beans	Pineapple
Watermelon	Orange	Tobacco
Banana	Lemon	Tinguy (fish poison)
Sugar-cane	Mango	
Cayenne pepper	Papaya	

The only plant-origin myth relates to maize and coincides with the Apinayé equivalent.[142] It combines two principal motives—the world tree and the star wife. The former occurs among Carib peoples of Guiana, having been recorded by Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipáng, by Brett among the Akawoí, by Im Thurn and Roth for the Carib proper, while Nordenskiöld reports it from the Arawakan Čáne of the northern Chaco. The other motive seems to be derived from the Serénte, who far more logically connect it not with the origin of maize, but with a visit to the sky.

Nordenskiöld derives Gê yąt (sweet potato) from Tupí yetị'k, which is supposed to point to a transmission of the species from the Tupí. I consider this highly improbable, for the Northwestern Gê would never have lopped off an accented syllable, but would presumably have transmuted the hypothetical loan-word into yetí (cf. below as to the assimilation of Tupí tapití). Further, there is a striking fact: Tupí agriculture stresses maize and manioc, the Northwestern and Central Gê emphasize sweet potatoes and yams, which virtually furnish their daily bread but play a more modest role among the Tupí.

In my description of Apinayé tillage I noted that the Northwestern and Central Gê probably did not acquire manioc from either the Tupí or the Karayá, whose methods of employment and preparation are totally distinct.[143] Against such borrowing may further be cited the term kwųr, uniformly distributed as it is over the entire Northwestern branch, from the Suyá to the remotest Timbira tribes. From Ribeiro's denial of the Krahõ' Indians' familiarity with *the preparation of flour*—"farinha de pau," that is, flour from unfermented manioc[144]—it does not by any means follow, as Snethlage assumes,[145] that they lacked manioc altogether. For they may very well have used it as they do today, in the form of pies baked in earth ovens. In recent times the Eastern Timbira have adopted the preparation of flour together with the basketry press, not from the Tupí-Guajajára, but from Neobrazilians. This is indicated by their designating this utensil not by the Guajajára term tipiti, but by its disfigured Neobrazilian form tapití, assimilated to Timbira phonology as tapti. They further give to the roasting pan its Portuguese name, forno.

The species of arrowroot planted by the Rąmkõ'kamekra differs from the Neobrazilian form.

[142] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 165–167.
[143] *Ibid.*, 88.
[144] Memoria, § 73.
[145] Nordostbras. Ind., 162.

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Notwithstanding Ribeiro's explicit assertion that the Krahô' of 1816 did not know how to raise or treat cotton, it seems to me to have been native to all Northwestern and Central Gê before the advent of civilization. In the first place, cotton is employed in a variety of ways—in wholly aboriginal forms of industry as well as in ceremonial, notably in the boys' initiation festival. A second argument is the technique of plaiting cotton carrying slings for children, though it must be admitted that according to Ribeiro[160] their material was burity bast. Third, there is the form of the spindle, deviating from the neighboring Neobrazilian and Guajajára parallels (pl. 18, *a*); finally, all the Northwestern tribes share the same word for cotton.

Ethnographically, however, the kupá is the most important of Timbira cultivated species. This creeper (*Cissus* sp.) has starchy tendrils, which attain the thickness of an inch and are baked in earth ovens. It does not occur wild; is restricted, so far as my information goes, to the Eastern and Western Timbira and the Serénte, all of them Gê tribes; and is pronouncedly xerophil. Accordingly, it is probably a very old cultivated species peculiar to these tribes, which could not have borrowed it from either Neobrazilians or any of their present Indian neighbors.

As for tobacco, my corresponding comment on it among the Apinayé also holds for the Eastern Timbira. Apparently they were *acquainted* with it before the coming of civilization, but even nowadays they do not plant it, the timid attempts of this or that Rąmkõ'kamekra having invariably failed to yield satisfactory results. I did not observe a single case of its magical or ceremonial use among these people. Both sexes, however, are passionate smokers and constantly beg for tobacco. They smoke cigarettes of maize husks or tauary bast; a few also use little clay pipe bowls bent at an angle, with bamboo stems (kačím; Portuguese, caximbo). The chief Kukrãčą' manufactures very pretty and neatly finished specimens, partly for sale to Neobrazilians, among whom the same form is in vogue.

Urucú and pepper shrubs, as well as sporadic *Crescentia*, mango, lemon or orange trees, are planted beside or behind dwellings, the young plants being guarded against roving pigs and fowls by little fences of vertically set sticks or by circumscribed quadrangles made of former racing logs.

The true plantations (pl. 5, *a*) are situated in the narrow *galeria* forests by the brooks. Since annually new clearings are necessary, the distance of the plots from the village steadily increases. When the transportation of the crops becomes altogether too cumbersome, the Indians are obliged to move their village near the new plots. Thus, the Rąmkõ'kamekra migrate with fair regularity about every ten years from the Ribeirão Santo Estevão to the Ribeirão dos Bois. While they are stationed by one of the two creeks for from ten to twenty years, the timber of the other grows again sufficiently to permit the creation of new plots.

Each individual family has its plantation, owned by the woman. No single man owns a plot, but many an unmarried woman claims one and gets her kinsmen to make the requisite clearings, this being an exclusively masculine task. For the last hundred years only iron axes have been in use, different brands being very well distinguished by the natives, who rightly prefer the North American "Collins" blades. No one nowadays is able to haft such stone blades as are still occasionally found. The method of felling timber with iron tools coincides with Neobrazilian practice. Though not every Indian has a good ax suitable for the purpose, he may borrow a relative's.

The several plots belonging to the married woman of an extended family usually, but not always, adjoin one another. At times one individual family may simul-

[160] Memoria, § 12.

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section is clearly set off from the round part. The Eastern Timbira term for this implement, plčwapo, means "sharp, flat wood." In probing for tubers, especially for sweet potatoes, these farmers use a special pointed stick some 40 cm. in length, which is often derived from the end of a worn-out bow. These two are the only native agricultural implements that persist in contemporary use in Ponto.

Except for rice and bitter manioc, plants of one species rarely occupy one continuous major strip, the general practice being to dispose them in patches here and there or mixed with other crops.

Among Timbira cultivated plants, maize holds the place of honor, being the only one whose origin is explained by a myth. Though Ribeiro mentions only two indigenous varieties,[167] the Rąmkõ'kamekra raise four kinds of small-kerneled maize which they derive from the legendary Star maiden, Kaččkwę'i, viz. 1, põhįpéy, true or good maize, with small, white, and very soft kernels; 2, põhįyaká, white maize, somewhat larger, but otherwise similar; 3, põhįkreakáre, with small blue kernels; and 4, to'rómre, with black kernels of medium size. The large-kerneled varieties, põhįti, are additions from the Neobrazilians.

The appearance of the Pleiades (krot) after sunset on the western horizon is a harbinger of the rainy season and indicates the need for starting a clearing in order to plant at the first rainfall. This ushers in the meipimrą'k period (p. 84), roughly coterminous with the rainy season since it ends with the commencement of the maize harvest.

Horticultural rites.—A man named Võkrãkę', whose maternal home is on the east side of the village circle, is charged with ceremonially opening the planting as well as the harvesting of maize. On the former occasion there figures a small gourd bowl whose edge is painted with urucú and which is filled with maize kernels. Võkrãkę' takes this container to the plaza and sets it on the ground, where people dance around it. Then he takes the bowl to his wife's plot and plants the maize, whereupon others are free to follow his example. After this functionary's death his office descends to the matrilineal kinsman to whom he has transferred his name.

When the maize stands about 1 m. high, another ceremony is held in order to induce the Moon, Pųduvrį, to ward off noxious animal parasites from the plants. Clapping together their hands and singing "Pųduvrįre kayẽ'yẽ' rivahá vaká mopó tu krére," all the villagers of both sexes then slowly dance in the plaza on a full-moon night, moving from the north southward under the leadership of a precentor wielding his rattle. In the rainy season they fear a lunar eclipse even far more than during the dry period, for they think it would destroy the crops. The relevant ceremonies will be described later.

In case of drought, however, not the Moon, but the Sun, Pųt, is addressed. Three old men then march round the boulevard, singing "kedeti/imąpéy/vayakrį' (Grandfather [= sun],/be good to me and/gladden me [by rain])."

No one—not even the woman owning the plot—is free to eat of the crop until the councilors have tasted of it and declared it mature. The maize harvest is opened by the same man, Võkrãkę', who inaugurated the planting season. First, a hunting party leaves to secure meat for the village. When they return with game, Võkrãkę' asks his wife to fetch from the plots a carrying basket full of maize ears, which are husked and cooked into meat pies to be served to the councilors in the plaza. Of the husks Võkrãkę' makes some twenty shuttlecocks, which his son Rąrą'k takes to the plaza and throws, one by one, into the circle of players. These throw each ball toward one another with the palm of the hand as long as possible without per-

[167] Memoria, § 11.

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mitting it to drop to the ground. If a player at last allows it to fall, it is not picked up, but Rąrą'k throws a new one into the ring until all the shuttlecocks are forfeited.

After midnight the men of both rainy season moieties assemble by two fires in the plaza, whither a man named Kái brings them a bundle of unfeathered arrows with balls of maize husk covering their points (pl. 16, *a*). The players step up in pairs (so as to represent in each case both moieties) and try to hit each other with the arrows, which they throw with their hands.

In 1929, during my first visit, when I had not yet come to understand anything of the ceremonial, I had the following experience. An Indian wishing to show me a special favor had some sweet potatoes brought from the plantation for my delectation before the harvest time had been officially announced. In my innocence I eulogized the generous donor before the elders in the plaza, but at once noted the silent, but significant glances passed among them. The donor was thus placed in an ambiguous position and incurred censure, though in deference to me this was not carried too far. However, the culprit was obliged to hurry to the plaza with a bowlful of baked sweet potatoes for the elders, who consumed them and declared the crop ready for harvesting. Similarly I observed that they received two watermelons when the harvest for these fruits was opened.

Another ceremony, hõčwa (= pointed leaf, i.e., sweet potato), is devoted to the sweet potatoes. It always takes place when these plants produce their vines, immediately preceding the ceremony just described of opening the maize harvest. The performers, numbering some twenty, are organized like the festive organizations, but their activities are confined to this single annual appearance at the hõčwa. As in these other societies, membership is inherited matrilineally with the personal name. The lodge is situated on the north side of the eastern half of the village circle. Like the other societies, this, too, has a leader, the hõčwakédeti (grandfather of the hõčwa). He wears hanging down the nape of his neck from a neck cord a feather from the tail of a red arara. The present incumbent is the chief Hąktokót, but the title hõčwa itself belongs to the bearer of the name Rąrą'k, who in this capacity wears falcon down on his body and has a little whistle of Mataco type.[328] The participants also include a precentor and two girl auxiliaries.

The members paint the entire body with white clay, and their faces are marked with two obtuse-angled parallel lines traced with the finger tips with the same pigment. The apex of one of these angles is on the forehead, while its sides extend over the temples; the point of the other angle is on the tip of the nose and its sides are drawn across the cheeks.

The hõčwa actor proper is decorated at sunset. At nightfall a big fire is kindled in the plaza, where the precentor remains waiting. Finally the hõčwa leaves his maternal home and walks to the plaza, where the precentor begins singing to the accompaniment of a rattle, while the hõčwa, with his pinčwę'ipey behind him, sounds his whistle. Thereupon the hõčwakédeti steps out of his maternal house, dances toward the plaza, but immediately returns in order to bring with him the entire membership, who now dance in the plaza with outstretched arms.

Toward midnight all the women and girls come out of their houses and range themselves in groups at the opening of the radial paths leading from their maternal homes to the plaza. The hõčwa march round the plaza from group to group, singing before each of them.

The object of this ceremony is to ensure for each extended family an adequate supply of sweet potatoes, corresponding to the number of its female members.

[328] Izikowitz, Musical Instruments, 333.

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616 881 thereupon the several plaza groups carried off their respective fees to the plaza, where the contents were poured out, assorted, and distributed among the members. On the same morning the pepyé had their hair cut and received the paint peculiar to their plaza groups. The novices took up positions in six companies corresponding to the plaza groups, standing on the west side of the village circumference, to the right and left of the former house of seclusion of the eastern class leader. Those not in seclusion appeared on the plaza in the proper order of the groups, ran up to the pepyé affiliated with them, and led them off to the appropriate meeting house. There they were painted by their hąpín with their respective plaza group designs in genipa and red urucú.

616 881 302 This decorative paint, hõkrąkróro, consists of a stripe the width of the hand and composed of certain repetitive ornaments on both sides of the front of the body. The stripes begin on the cheeks at the level of the nose and descend across the neck, breasts, and inguinal region down to approximately the middle of the thigh. At the clavicle a narrower stripe of the same decoration branches off, extend-

Fig. 8. Decorative painted designs of plaza groups (left to right): Giant Snake, Bat, Carrion Vulture, Armadillo, Dwarf Parrot, Alien Tribe. All solid figures within the frames are red.

ing on the anterior surface of the arms down to the middle of the forearm. Each plaza group has its peculiar pattern, but the Giant Snakes display considerable individual variability (fig. 8).

616 881 243 Associated with this ornamentation is a burity leafstalk pole (pure) 4–5 m. in length and colored red with urucú; holding this emblem the novices marched to the plaza and sang there.

This plaza grouping is retained on the following days when the pepyé collect their food at their maternal homes every evening after sunset. Each group in a body successively visited the homes of all members; the sum total of the yield, however, was combined without regard to group distinctions at the novices' site in the plaza and equitably distributed among all.

[531] Eight days later, at the closing pepyé ceremony, the pure were replaced by poles of pindahyba wood with pyrographed designs (kukąkaiką'ra = ornamented pindahyba), these emblems being manufactured in the meeting houses of the plaza groups. The novices, holding these poles, marched in two parallel lines around the boulevard, the eastern plaza groups on the left, the western on the right. The procession was headed by the precentor and precentresses, the commandant and the chief acting as masters of ceremonies for the entire festival; beside each pepyé walked his prospective mother-in-law, leading him by a cord round his neck (pl. 40, *a*).

Next the two companies took up positions in the plaza, each on its own side. The pindahyba poles of the eastern groups were united in a bundle and set up on the west side, and vice versa. Then the chief conducting the proceedings uttered a yell, whereupon two down-covered pepyé came rushing out of the meeting houses of the Dwarf Parrots (western) and of the Bats (eastern), each trying to precede the other in knocking down their opponents' sheaf of poles. This closed the pepyé celebration proper.

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moieties; or that their office dates back to a time when these two types of dual division coincided.

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Exit from the age class.—When retiring, the kukrų'tkama, men about fifty years old, whose cycle was completed in about 1903, had dwindled to a membership of eight. Their leaders, as well as the deputy instructor, had long been dead, and the class as a unit played only a subordinate social part: meetings were rare and hardly ever fully attended in the proper site of the plaza; and there was little participation in log races. On the other hand, some of them who enjoyed a certain prestige almost regularly appeared in the council. Nevertheless they had by no means forgotten their kukrų'tkama affiliation.

When the pepyé festival of 1932 closed the initiation of the põhįtĩkama, the boys (kra'tã'kama) entering on the northeast side of the plaza, the kukrų'tkama yielded their place to the advancing kaprąnpotĩkama. Ten days after the festival all the survivors once more assembled in decorative paint and grass costume in order to run their last log race, in which eastern and western age classes were pitted against each other. Subsequently they did not appear jointly except in the council, with the numerically insignificant survivors of two older classes.

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Economic role.—Compared with their socioceremonial and sportive importance, the economic activities of the age classes are quite subordinate. No class as such owns any property; even the place of assembly into which the vų'tę''s house is transformed belongs exclusively to her mother. At the opening of a vų'tę' season the members of a class must humbly ask for this woman's permission before starting their performances there. However, there are two occasions on which the classes engage in economic labors, though not in systematic fashion.

In the first place, they build houses for persons otherwise engaged in matters of public concern. Thus, the two junior classes erected the dwelling of a woman whose husband was a tribal delegate in the state capital. Further, even without such compelling motive the class will help a fellow member put up his house. In 1935 I witnessed the hurried erection of a house by the põhįtĩkama, whose deputy instructor's wife was looking forward to her delivery in the near future.

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Secondly, age classes assist in harvesting. Since farming is growing in importance every year, the classes play an ever larger part at crop gathering, especially at the anciently nonexistent rice harvest. For meteorological reasons it is essential to harvest this crop as expeditiously as possible; though the prospective beneficiary cannot afford to abandon his crop at this time, he is often expected to attend the commencement of a major festival in the village. For several years it has been customary not to begin the great celebrations before the garnering of the rice, and to obviate delay for the whole settlement, the age classes then help those who are behind schedule. Whoever requires such aid appeals to the councilors to send him the junior age class of his own class moiety. The council decides as to the possibility of such assistance, for the class may already have been requisitioned for other tasks, and communicates the decision to two class leaders. In case of an affirmative reply the young men as a body appear at the appropriate site, for occasional dances accompanied by a number of girls of their own age. Rarely does the class receive any remuneration, consisting in that case of a small share of the crop, which the leaders subsequently arrange to have prepared for all members. As a rule the beneficiary merely feeds her assistants, who, to be sure, by no means overexert themselves, dawdling to such an extent that I was sometimes puzzled to know whether their collaboration was worth while. However, toward the end of the rice harvest they are constantly occupied.

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